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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—Viscount Palmerston stated, in the House of Commons, on the 10th ult., in answer to a question from Mr. White, that the Government had no intention of bringing forward a Bill to repeal the Aberdeen Act.

On the 20th ult., the Parliamentary Committee obtained by Mr. Adderly, to inquire into the state of the British Settlements on the West Coast of Africa, assembled for the first time, in room 15. The only witness examined was Mr. Elliott, of the Colonial Office. On the 22nd, Colonel Ord was questioned. This gentleman has recently returned from a flying government inspection of those settlements. His official report was then before the House. The Committee consists of the following members: The Right Hon. E. Cardwell, Secretary, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies; Sir Francis Baring, Lord Stanley, Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Sir John Hay, Mr. Charles Buxton, Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill, Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Baxter, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Cheetham, Mr. Cave, Mr. C. B. Adderly, the Marquis of Hartington, and Mr. Henry Seymour.

On the 4th ult. the Minister of Portugal, the Count de Lavradio, and Mr. Gerald Ralston, Consul-General for Libe-

ria, signed, on behalf of their respective Governments, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, at the Legation of Portugal, in London. It is noteworthy that one of the articles of the treaty assimilates slave-trade to piracy, and subjects those engaged in it to the same punishment as would be inflicted on pirates. It is desirable that in all future treaties the negro Republic may make with other nations, this principle should be recognised and established.

The Queen has appointed David Livingstone, Esq., D.C.L., lately Her Majesty's Consul at Quillimane, to be Her Majesty's Consul in the territories of all African kings and chiefs in the interior of Africa, not subject to the authority of the King of Portugal, or of the King of Abyssinia, or of the Vice-Roy of Egypt.

Mr. Rumble, who was recently tried in the Court of Queen's Bench, for a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and acquitted by the jury, has been put upon half-pay by the Government. He was inspector of machinery afloat. The order placing him upon half-pay states that, owing to his complicity in the Rappahannock affair, he is no longer deserving of the confidence of the Government.

The last mail from Rio de Janeiro brought a decree of the Brazilian Government directing the immediate freedom of all the *emancipados* who have served an apprenticeship of fourteen years.

Spain.—Some of the Spanish papers are taking up the question of the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade. These are the *Epoca*, *La Nacion*, and *El Espiritu Publico*. The latter, of the 21st ult., has an article on the general question, which *La Nacion*, of the 23rd, comments upon favourably, and re-prints portions of.

UNITED STATES.—*The War.*—The army of the Potomac—the one under Grant—has not made any forward movement since our last; but the operations of Sheridan, commanding in the Shenandoah valley, and of Sherman and his lieutenants in the south-west, indicate the execution of a concerted plan of action, which will probably soon bring on a decisive engagement.

Quitting Savannah, Sherman marched upon Columbia, held by Beauregard, who evacuated the place without firing a shot. This event took place on the 17th February ult., and on the same day Charleston was abandoned by the Confederates, after setting fire to the city, of which two-thirds were destroyed. They blew up the arsenal, causing the death of several hundred persons—harmless citizens—and also destroyed by gunpowder two iron-clads, besides burning 6000 bales of cotton. Two hundred cannon and vast stores of ammunition fell into the hands of General Gilmore. It is alleged that preparations for abandoning the city had been made many weeks before, in anticipation of Sherman's advance. Crowds of negroes met the Federal troops, and made demonstrations of joy. They wanted food, and said they would be glad to work. Some proposed to take up arms against their masters. Their condition is described as much worse than that of the inhabitants of Savannah. From Columbia, General Sherman continued his march through the Carolinas, and for some three weeks was not heard of, but Grant reports having received a letter from him, dated Fayetteville, 12th March, reporting his army in good condition, and having met with no serious opposition. His movements had probably been greatly facilitated by the fall of Wilmington, which surrendered on the 22nd February, to Admiral Porter and General Schofield, a combined attack upon Fort Anderson, on the 17th, having placed that important outwork in their hands. Sherman's future movements would, it was said, be made from Wilmington as a base.

General Sheridan, operating in the Shenandoah Valley, with a large cavalry force, set out from Waynesboro' on the 27th February, and one of his divisions, under Custer, coming up with Early near Charlottesville, an engagement ensued, resulting in the total defeat of Early, the cap-

ture of his staff, and nearly his entire force. Sheridan pushed on his main body through the celebrated Blue Ridge, and entered Charlottesville next day. From this point parties were sent out to destroy the canal and lines of railway communication, to within forty miles of Richmond. He advanced to Lynchburg, with the intention of attacking that important railway centre, but found it too strongly fortified to make the attempt with the force at his command. At the date of the latest advices, he was supposed to be concentrating his forces for a movement of co-operation with Grant against Lee, but in the rear of the latter general. Sherman was at Laurel Hill, a point on the confines of the Carolinas, whence he could either march upon Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, or fall back upon Wilmington. A skirmish had taken place between General Schofield, at Kinston, on the 8th March, and General Bragg, which resulted in the repulse of the former; but on the 10th, Schofield defeated Bragg, though, as each party resumed the ground it had occupied, the engagement was undecisive. Schofield was on his way to join Sherman.

These various marches and manœuvres clearly indicate that the object of Grant—the General-in-Chief of all the Federal forces—is to cut Lee off from all his means of communication, and leave him no alternative but to surrender, or fight a great battle for the possession of Richmond. This event is not likely to be long postponed, as both parties must, by this time, have nearly the whole of their strength concentrated.

Congressional.—The Bill reported by the Committee of Conference of the two Houses to establish in Washington a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, having passed the House by two majority, was before the Senate, and its passage was confidently expected.

Miscellaneous.—On Sunday, the 12th February ult., the Rev. Henry H. Garnet, D.D., formerly of New York, now pastor of the Coloured Presbyterian Church in Washington, preached in the capitol, by invitation from the Chaplain of the House of Representatives (Rev. W. H. Channing), to a large audience. The excellent choir of Mr. Garnet's church took part in the services. The congregation was about one-third coloured. The discourse was on Slavery, and was of rare eloquence. It was, as were all the services, listened to with the utmost attention and respect.

In a lecture delivered in New York by Mr. Sella Martin, on the resources of the coloured people of the United States, the lecturer estimated their wealth at 60,000,000

dollars, and supported his estimate by statistical proofs. He allowed that this wealth was not seen, because the whites had refused all partnership with them, and made them jealous of one another.

Dr. Channing's work on Slavery has been translated into Spanish, and the translation printed in New York, with the title of "La Esclavitud, por William Ellery Channing, Doctor en Teologia." The translator is Señor Francisco de P. Suarez, who, in a note addressed to the reader, observes that his object is to render a great service to his country, at the same time that he introduces to its knowledge one of the most virtuous and illustrious men whom America has produced. "Happy shall we be," he exclaims, "if this pale reflex shall cause to shine upon the Cuban population, even to its humblest classes, the divine rays which beam from the pages of the original. A thousand times happy, if the doctrines maintained with such energy by the illustrious American divine shall cause to germinate in it the holy tree of liberty, and if, thanks to them, the present generation shall not go down to the grave without gathering the full fruits of this tree of blessing." The translator is a Cuban philanthropist, who desires that his country may be delivered from the curse of Slavery.

The President has commissioned as surgeon of volunteers, with the rank of Major in the United-States' army, Dr. Delany, a black man. He will be ordered to report to General Saxton, to organize the medical department of the coloured recruits. This Martin R. Delany is the same negro to whom Lord Brougham called ex-United-States' Minister Dallas's attention in the International Statistical Congress at London. He was first employed as recruiting agent for the 54th Massachusetts, by Major George L. Stearns, and subsequently he raised the first Rhode-Island negro heavy artillery, as well as some negro organizations for Connecticut. He is a native of Pennsylvania, and has travelled in Africa. His explorations there were reported at length to the Royal Geographical Society of London. He is a full-blooded negro, with a flat nose, and kinky head, and is very proud of his unmixed African lineage.

The Kentucky Legislature has rejected the constitutional amendment for the abolition of Slavery.

The Judiciary Committee of the Jersey Legislature have reported on the Bill to ratify the constitutional amendment, with an amendment to submit it to the people's vote at the next general election.

The Common Council of Jersey City have passed a resolution, declaring the constitutional amendment an untimely

measure likely to delay the restoration of peace and the Union.

The Wisconsin Legislature have passed the constitutional amendment.

Rebeldom.—The Confederate Senate has passed the Negro Enlistment Bill, and the House has ratified it.

A panic had prevailed among the negroes since the announcement that they were to be conscripted into the Confederate army. The Conservative slaveowners were arming their slaves.

The result of the conscription was, that numbers of slaves were flocking to Sherman's army, with the assistance of their masters, promising to return to work for wages as soon as safe.

The *Charleston Mercury* denounces the freeing of slaves. "South Carolina," it says, "entered the struggle solely to maintain Slavery. Southern independence and Slavery must stand or fall together."

WEST INDIES.—*Jamaica.*—Two Bills had passed the Legislature, and been sent home for approval. One authorizes the infliction of a number not exceeding fifty lashes, on offenders convicted of petty larceny, and the other empowers magistrates to apprentice such, for a term, as are not above sixteen years of age.

British Guiana.—A scheme is afloat to establish a Chinese settlement in this colony. The promoter is a Chinese Missionary, and he believes numbers of his industrious countrymen would be attracted to take up their residence in the country, were they assured of certain advantages. The project appears to have much to recommend it, and the Governor approves of it.

Haiti.—The area of land planted with cotton in 1863 was estimated at 9000 acres, and in 1864 at 15,000 acres. One-tenth of the seed used was exotic. Amount of produce for 1863, 2,460,000 lb.; and the estimated quantity for 1865 is 3,360,000 lb.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Thursday, 28th February.)

SPAIN AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

MR. CAVE asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of the Government had been drawn to the debate in the Spanish Senate, January 23, on the question of declaring the slave-trade piracy, and whether any instructions had been sent to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid on the subject.

Mr. LAYARD said the attention of the Government had been called to this debate, and they rejoiced to find that there were Spanish statesmen who were alive to the enormous evils which resulted from the continuance of the slave-trade in Cuba, and that these statesmen were willing that some means should be adopted, if possible,

to put an end to the slave-trade in Cuba, and check the practice, unfortunately too common in that country, of connivance on the part of the Spanish authorities. The Government had entered into communication with the Spanish Government on this subject.

(Thursday, March 9th.)

THE ABERDEEN ACT.

Mr. J. WHITE asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether, with a view to re-establish friendly relations with Brazil, it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring in a Bill this session for the repeal of the Act 8 and 9 Vic., c. 122, called the "Aberdeen Act."

Lord PALMERSTON—It is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring in a Bill to repeal that Act, and for this reason, that if that Act were repealed the slave-trade between Africa and Brazil would be free to be resumed to any, and even to the most unlimited extent, and the best intentions of the Brazilian Government would be futile to prevent it, as will be perceived by the example of Cuba, where the Governor-General is most honestly and sincerely anxious to put an end to the slave-trade, but the venality of all his subordinate officers utterly defeats and frustrates his efforts. I may, however, state, and I am sure the House will be glad to hear it, that negotiations are still going on, through the intervention of the Portuguese Government, with a view to re-establish diplomatic and friendly relations between Great Britain and Brazil.

THE FREEDMEN'S COLUMN.

(Extracts from the *American Correspondent of the "Morning Star."*)

LET the friends of freedom and human progress be encouraged at home; the world is not stationary, and the last dying embers of freedom are not yet trampled out. At the time of my last visit Mr. Fred. Douglass was making a lament at the gloomy prospects of the poor slave. At a large public meeting he had delivered a lecture, every period of which was brimful of sadness and despair. At the close of his lecture an old black woman, who bore the quaint name of "Sojourner Truth," stood up, and with a voice awful and sepulchral exclaimed, "Fred. Douglass, is God dead?" She sat down, and her voice, like the sharp, smiting utterance of the old Hebrew prophets, pierced in dread silence the entire audience. Events have since proved, as those same grand old spirits express it, that "The Lord liveth," and that He has not been deaf to the plea and wail of the sable-complexioned poor. From facts that have come under my notice there can be no doubt but that the slaves generally throughout the South have been awaiting and expecting their deliverance. They did not, it seems, know how their freedom would be achieved, but they seem never to have been in doubt of its coming sooner or later. It was a very common opinion among them that the English would some day come and deliver them. The more religious thought that

Jesus Christ himself would come. I tell you just what their opinions were. Hence Abraham Lincoln is now regarded by the millions of the South as their Saviour in the strictest signification of the term. One old woman, named, strangely enough, "Moses," whom I am going to see this week, when asked why it was that the slaves were so faithful and kind to their masters, replied, "Why, God bless you, we do our part, which is to be faithful and kind to de massa. Dat is our duty and our part of de covenant; and tink you not dat de good Lord, who can roll de worlds off His fingers, just like dat"—snapping her poor hard-worked fingers—"dat He will not do His part of de covenant? We wait, and we do our part of de covenant, and we afear'd lest we do not do it properly. And we pray de good Lord right quick to do His part of de covenant, and to set His people free."

A deep and growing interest is taken in the coloured freed men by all sections of the Northern States. The freed men themselves are shewing marvellous aptitudes, not only in the terrible arts of war, but also in the nobler ones of peace. Mark this: Within ten days after the arrival of General Sherman at Savannah the coloured people of that city had paid into the Treasury the sum of 1000 dollars of their own savings as the nucleus of a fund for their own education. Not only this, but they had actually commenced a school under the superintendence of a black man, who had been teaching a number of them in private for a full year whilst they were still in bondage. This work is still going on. The desire of the negro, when freed, for education, amounts to a passion, and in this respect they contrast remarkably with the poor degraded "trashy" whites. The latter are too proud to work, and too lazy to learn. Sitting in their wretched homes, in squalid poverty, their countenances tanned by the burning of the pitch-pine knots, they think it a degradation to perform those acts of domestic life necessary to their own comfort. Filth accumulates in their houses because they are too proud to discharge menial duties. A man of this class lately sought transit down the Mississippi from the Government. A passage was granted. He then requested means to purchase his food on board. He was told that this would be supplied him if he would assist in carrying the wood on board at the landing-places, required as fuel for the engine. "What!" said he, "Do you think a white man would do this? That is work for niggers;" and, though penniless, he absolutely refused to aid in the necessary duty. Unless these poor degraded whites are improved by education at the close of the war, not only will the coloured people become masters of the soil, but they will become the teachers and rulers of the land. The coloured people are resolved to improve. There are many promising signs. Take the following: A coloured gentleman has recently been admitted a member of the bar of the Supreme Court. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is demanding equal civil and electoral rights for the freedmen with the whites. Edward S. Philbrick, Esq., has conducted most successfully important operations for the cultivation of Sea-Island cotton. This gentleman, who

is by profession an engineer, and a man of large views and experience, who has travelled the world, and observed carefully, went down to Port Royal in March 1862. He devoted his time the following year to the organization of negro labour upon the abandoned plantations of Sea Islands, at first under E. L. Pierce, special agent of the Treasury department, and afterwards under Brigadier-General Rufus Saxton. At the sales of the lands forfeited by the rebels, and sold for the non-payment of taxes, in March 1863, Mr. Philbrick purchased at auction eleven plantations, which he has cultivated in connection with two more which were leased from another purchaser, all on behalf of a joint-stock company formed in Boston for the purpose. Professor Dr. Leone Levi asks, "Would free men be as able to cultivate cotton as slaveowners by slave labour?" The problem has been solved on the plantations above mentioned, under circumstances so peculiar that they should be briefly mentioned. First, the negroes in that part of the country are the poorest and weakest in the United States. Many of them, indeed most of them, are diseased and crippled. They have all their lives been badly fed, subsisting for one portion of the year on a scanty portion of corn, and for the other six months on an inadequate portion of, I believe, rice, or other inferior grain. All the young men and the able-bodied had been carried off before Mr. Philbrick commenced his experiment, and during the labours of the first year a party of Southern raiders crossed from the mainland and carried off some of his best hands, if we may speak of best where bad was the best. Still the experiment has proved a grand success. It is an interesting incident, that those men who were carried off returned a few months afterwards to the island from which they had been kidnapped, bringing ninety able-bodied men with them. But to return to these plantations. Six gentlemen of New-England birth, previously employed by General Saxton as superintendents of plantations, were placed in charge of these estates without salary, but with an interest in the crops. The job system which had been adopted for all the Government plantations by General Saxton was adhered to with such increase of rates of pay as appeared necessary under the enhanced prices of all articles which the negroes were obliged to purchase. This system allotted to each family a certain patch of land—about an acre and a half to the adults, and to children in proportion to their age—for their provision crops, holding the negroes responsible for their own food entirely. To each family was also assigned a definite portion of land for the cultivation of cotton in such quantities as they chose to take, and the separate families so assuming the care of these patches were made as far as possible responsible for the crops grown upon them. In order to enable the negro to provide for his current wants during the growth of the crop, and to keep up his courage, partial payments were made each month for planting and hoeing the crops per acre, at a small rate, reserving the principal payment for the end, when the crop was paid for per pound as gathered. Other kind of work, such as carting, ploughing, collecting manure, ginning, cleaning, and packing the cotton, were all paid for by the

piece, each family preparing for the market, separately, the cotton they had raised. The amount of wages earned per day varied, of course, with the industry and capacity of the individual. It has averaged about 55c. per day for the time spent in the cotton-field, or in preparing the manures, ginning, &c. in addition to which wages, for a portion of his time, the negro has had free house-rent and rent of land for raising his provision crops, on which the remainder of his time was spent at his own discretion. Many have done habitually double the amount of work they were formerly required to do by their masters in a day, and, as they say, with no more fatigue. The whole number of labourers employed on the thirteen estates was about 400, rating two children as one hand. Most of these were women, children, and old men. The best hands were carried off by their masters, the young men were all called into the service of the United States. With this help there were planted eight hundred and fourteen acres of cotton, from which a crop of seventy-two thousand pounds of cotton was obtained, being two hundred bales of three hundred and sixty pounds each, or about two-thirds the former average crop per acre. With the usual amount of manure a much better result could have been obtained; but as the lands were hurriedly planted—within a few weeks after taking possession—no opportunity was offered for manuring to any extent. The whole amount paid out in wages, including the collection of manures for the next crop, the harvesting of the crops for feeding the animals, and the preparation of the cotton for market, has been about twenty thousand dollars. Estimating the other expenses, namely, the depreciation of outfit and the interest account, at about seven thousand dollars more, which will be as near as possible the truth, the cost of the cotton per pound will be about thirty-seven cents. Under the slave-system, the cost of growing the Sea-Island or long staple cotton, at the beginning of the rebellion, was forty cents a pound. Freedom thus beats Slavery. Under more favourable circumstances the victory will be complete and triumphant.

(From A. H.'s letters in the "Newcastle Courant.")

"The following touching appeal has been lately issued in New York, for circulation in the Northern States. It may be equally appropriate for the Christian public of this country: 'We earnestly appeal to you, on behalf of the thousands of suffering negroes whom General Sherman has just liberated by his triumphant march through Georgia. Where he has borne our flag they have hastened to follow it, with simple faith in the truth of the Government and the charity of the nation. They have arrived on the coast, after long marches and severe privations, weary, famished, sick, and almost naked. Several hundreds of these wretched people arrived at Beaufort on Christmas night, in a state of misery which would have moved to pity a heart of stone. And these are but the advance of a host no less destitute. The stores of the Government, already over-taxed to supply a large army, are not available to relieve their wants; and unless the charity of the North comes

speedily to the rescue, they must die by hundreds from exposure and disease. So extreme and entire is the poverty of this people, that nothing you can afford to give will come amiss. Clothing is their most pressing need, especially for women and children, who cannot wear the cast-off garments of soldiers; shoes and stocking, hats, and underclothes of all kinds, are hardly less necessary in this climate than in the North. Utensils, medicines, money—any thing you have to spare—will find its use amongst these wretched people. For the sake of suffering humanity we pray you let them be quickly and abundantly supplied.

* * * * *

"A member of the Society of Friends writes from Norfolk, Virginia: 'Captain Brown, the superintendent of the freedmen, has under his charge forty farms, and while the men find employment more directly in the service of the Government, the women and children are placed upon these, and soon find comfortable employment.

"Tayler Farm is a blooming wilderness to my sister and myself. Less than a year ago we filled a large open army-waggon with clothing, and, seating ourselves on the cheer-giving load, rode out to this spot. We found here a party of frost-nipped refugees sitting by gaping fireplaces, in wretchedly-dilapidated negro quarters, and were gladly welcomed by the shining groups. They had sat by their fires for two nights because they had neither beds nor blankets. The farm had but just been taken possession of by the Government, and at first the people suffered extremely.

"Some of their answers provoke a smile. Miss C—— is teaching our coloured high school. A short time since she asked one of her scholars the difference between "rational and irrational." 'Why, it's rational when we draws rations, and irrational when we don't,' was the quick reply.

"A few days ago a very bright woman stole away twelve miles beyond Suffolk, bringing her little child with her. 'I was frightened,' she said, 'when I was running away: I kept thinking I heard somebody behind me, but I just slapped down my bundle and said, Stop, 'taint nobody, 'taint nothing but thoughts, and then I went on again.' The recent refugees who came in a body from the same direction were taunted and fired at as they came through Suffolk. 'You think Norfolk a paradise; you won't think so after they've beaten and starved you almost to death.' 'They told us,' said others, 'you'd put our husbands in the army, and starve us to death on some island. The most of us got together and started off after nine o'clock at night. An officer met us when we got near you, and told us to go on, and sent some pickets to take care of us. He said he was glad we didn't let the reverence (rebels) talk us out of coming.'

"Another earnest worker writes recently from the same locality: 'It is difficult to make a connected story of our visit among the freedmen. We went into their cabins, the tents and hospitals, looking into the condition of the poor people congregated there, and gathering little scraps and incidents of individual experience from them. Their accounts may be considered

almost trifling in themselves, and yet, summed as a whole, are a people's history. They tell the oft-repeated tale of sorrow, degradation, and oppression in Slavery; of hunger and cold, of sickness and suffering, patiently and uncomplainingly borne in their great struggle for freedom. Every sacrifice, every privation seems insignificant compared with the blessed boon of liberty to them and to their children. 'De good Lord Jesus has at last heard dar prayers, and sent Uncle Abram to set dem free.'

"They come to the 'the Union' as little children would to a parent, with perfect confidence that they will be helped. A party of twenty-five women and children, who had just entered our lines, said, in answer to a query, 'Where are you going?' 'Oh, we's going to Washington, to Uncle Abram, he'll take care on us and gib us work. We want to work, and we kin work. We worked hard for ole massa; we cut de trees, we plow de field, we hoe de corn, but dey tell us dey was guine to put all de slave men in de army, and de women must go away wid dem. Dey say, dat if we staid here de Yankees would come and kill us all; but we know'd better dan dat, and so we jess kim off.'"

"One stout-looking old woman, counting her children on her fingers, made the number eight. Her 'gals were all sold off South, and her boys were in de rebel army, 'cept one: he got in de Union: specs I'll see him somehow. Dem dat be in the rebel army won't fight much. Specs dey will let demselves be took prisoners by de Yankees right smart quick.' The younger women mostly had their children with them, but the older ones had all come off 'wid 'lations and friends; their children had been sold 'down South' years before.'

"Another one said, 'I raised nine head of boys, and ole massa didn't leave me one of 'em. He sold all on 'em away, but I hearn two on 'em got into de Union army, perhaps de rest on 'em will be free yet. I pray all de day for 'em. I'se prayed all my life long for dis day to come. I'se free to-day, tank de good Lord.'

"A bright-looking woman did 'all de work out door, and all de work in de house, for ever so long, and now de folks was gwine to take me off wid 'em; so one night I jus git missus all nice in de bed, and den I takes my little gal and come off right smart quick. I toted de chile five days til I come to de ribber, and den de Union boat took us. I'se left all my tings behind, but I be free,' and, with a look of perfect joy and trust, she laid her hand on her child's head, and said, with thrilling emphasis, 'my little gal be free too.' She, too, was going to Washington. 'De lady will pay me for my work, so she say. I'se always worked for massa, all dese days, for nothing; but I was slave den, now I'se free.'

"In one cabin was a poor woman holding her dying child. It was the last of five, but no murmur escaped her lips. She had come to the Union for freedom. She had to 'leave all her tings behind, and de children got cold, and Jesus took 'em away; but de Union has been good to me—done all it could. I'll be glad to work for de Union when I can.'

"In another, a mother and seven children were struggling to live. In answer to an inquiry for

her husband she said, 'He libed on another plantation, and his massa took him off wid him. I 'specs he'll get home yet, de Union toted all on us here.' How was she getting on? 'Only tolaible; de Union is good to us, but den we be so many.' 'How many?' 'Oh, I don't know, right smart on us come all at once, and we leave all our tings behind, and had noting when we got here; de colds and de shakes took hold on us, and de children took sick.' 'Would you go back to Slavery and have all your things, or stay in freedom without them?' 'O dear no; we wouldn't go back for de world; we 'specs to suffer, but we git free. *De children is free.* We've prayed and prayed for dis day, and it has come at last.'

"Some old men had learned to read a little while yet in Slavery. 'We toted massa's children to school, stayed all day, and toted 'em back. We learned to read, and massa didn't know it, and now we can read de blessed Bible ourselves. De good people of de North hab been good, berry good to us. Jesus tell 'em to help de poor slave; by and by we can help ourselves. But we tank you all berry much.'

"So they struggle on and on. The Government is very liberal, the North is doing a great deal, but it is a nation escaping from bondage; a nation to be guided, guarded, and supported, in some measure, until their feet are planted fairly on free soil. It is a wonderful work: may the friends of freedom meet it. The problem is already being solved by thousands who, having survived the transition state, have shewn that they can and will be self-supporting.

"Grateful thanks are returned for some contributions received for the freedmen. It is proposed to send off a further supply of warm clothing from Newcastle within the coming fortnight.

"A minister of the gospel, lately writing to New York from Savannah [Georgia], relates that he recently attended a gathering of about five hundred coloured children through the streets of the city, to take possession of the building assigned for the schools. One of these rooms was formerly 'Bryan's Slave Mart;' and the sign still remained over the door. Fifteen coloured teachers are already engaged in these schools, and others have been sent to join them. From eight to ten thousand coloured persons, set free by General Sherman's triumphant march, are now in the department of Savannah. Their immediate wants are very great.

"Another letter, dated Roanoke Island, South Carolina, January 28th, says: 'The season is most intensely cold. I have never suffered at home as here, probably on account of the sudden changes. Our poor are but scantily supplied to encounter such. I have several cases among my scholars of women who have only a light summer dress, and a 'sun bonnet;' yet they come destitute of covering, while I am shivering in my heavy cloak and furs. Will not some kind friend send a dozen or two of warm shawls for such cases as these in the Briggs' School? It matters not how coarse the texture, whether they be new or old, anything to keep them warm would be a great, great blessing.'

"Speaking of the city of Washington, yet another writer observes: 'Almost in the shadow

of our national capitol, are the cabins of several hundred freedmen. They are built of rough boards, guiltless of paint, plaster, or whitewash; with many crevices for the cold, and no chimneys for the smoke. I have recently spent a day in visiting these cabins, wishing to know what these people were, and what they might become. I asked many if they lived more comfortably now than when they were slaves? Few said that they did; but when I asked if they were glad to be free, not one of them but answered something like 'Yes, indeed, honey, I'se glad I'se free.' One who had bought herself for nine hundred and fifty dollars, just before the war, said, 'Freedom is a good thing when dey knows how to use it; but if dey gets drunk, or goes to the Penitentiary, taint no good for 'em to be free.' One who has had sixteen children sold from her, and was then sold from her husband, said 'Ye see when we's free we keeps our chil'en.'

"We conclude this intelligence in the cheering words of Mr. J. M. McKim, of Philadelphia, who says, in writing from Washington, to his friends in Edinburgh:—'I came to this city twenty-seven years ago, and found the reign of Slavery absolute. It was supreme and almost undisputed in the White House, in the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the Supreme Court, in hotels, boarding-houses, private houses, everywhere. The home slave-trade was at its acme. The slave-dealers advertised their human wares in the chief organs of the Government. Slavery covered the whole land, so far as it could be seen from this point of view, as with a pall. Abolitionism was 'a grain of mustard-seed;' it was not even a cloud as big as 'a man's man's hand.' My friends who knew my errand—I came to penetrate and describe the slave prisons—deemed me rash, and considered me in peril. Now, what do I see to-day? Freedom, Freedom, Freedom everywhere! In the presidential mansion, in both houses of Congress, in the Supreme Court (the author of the Dred Scott decision is dead and the court is anti-slavery), in the hotels, in the public parks, on the streets, everywhere is freedom, and everybody free! Not nominally and abstractly, but really and actually. I tell you, my friend, Slavery has received its death-wound. It is everywhere either absolutely dead or moribund. The chief business of abolitionists now is with its victims. The snake is killed. Though it still wriggles, it is cut into pieces. Instead of keeping watch on these pieces, let us rather look after those who have been bitten by it. That is what we are now doing. The advocates of freedom have become the advocates of the freedmen. This is why I am now here. I am organizing schools in this city and district for the ex-slaves and their children. I have in the last few months gathered and put in operation here five large and flourishing schools. They are taught by devoted and well-educated ladies from the North. The good they are doing is manifest to all, is incalculable. There are not less than 40,000 blacks in this city and neighbourhood. Most of them are refugees from Virginia. Every new success of Grant, and every fresh advance

of Sheridan, adds to their number. This city is filled with them.

"This is at present, perhaps, the most important field of any we occupy; it is in the centre of the nation, under the eye of the government, and challenges the attention of all who come here. Here, in wretched hovels, in the outer boundaries and inner purlieus of this overcrowded, half-military city, are hundreds of newly-arrived 'contrabands,' torn, scarred, ragged, wretched, just as they come from their masters. Here are ladies going from hovel to hovel, distributing garments to the naked, orders for farina, beef-tea, and the like, for the sick, and telling them where they will find schools for their children. And here are our schools in full operation. The first we come to is—as per the sign above the door—'PENNSYLVANIAN FREEDMAN'S RELIEF SCHOOL, No. 10.' It is taught by Miss F—, Miss E—, and Miss W— (the latter coloured), all ladies in the best sense of the word. There are in it 150 scholars, boys and girls of all ages, and of every hue—from deep black to almost pure white. When this school was first gathered—but the other day—it was a rude mass of disorderly ignorance. When I was there yesterday, I found it orderly and well-behaved; the children were tidy and were learning fast. The teachers were proud of their progress. The whole school said the multiplication table in concert, and sang for me, with great spirit and capital time, our new patriotic song—

'We'll rally round the flag, boys;
We'll rally once again, &c.'

I wish you could have seen and heard them; I am sure your heart would have been in your throat, and your tears beyond your power of restraining them.

"As is School No. 10, so is School No. 11, and so is School No. 12.

"Part of my business here at this time is to superintend the erection of two new buildings, both of them for school purposes, but one of them to be fitted up with a dormitory for our teachers, a store-room in which to receive and from which to distribute goods, such as clothes, &c. for the poor, and a kitchen in which soup, beef-tea, and the like, can be prepared for the sick; the whole to be under the care of a matron duly qualified for the purpose.

"This work of doing for the freedmen is a great one, and one that will tax the resources of the nation, and it will have to be taken up by Government; but while the Government has its hands full with the rebellion, the work must devolve upon the people. We must take the initiative. We must demonstrate the capabilities and susceptibilities—individual and educational—of the black man; and that we are now doing to the satisfaction of the most unbelieving.

(From the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.)

"With the readiness of adaptation to circumstances which is one of the fruits of free society, as soon as the people of the North saw that freedom to the slaves was an inevitable incident of the war, they set about providing for this occasion as well as for any arising from the collision of the armies or the management of the

hospitals. Men and women were found in no insignificant number, and of admirable qualifications, to give themselves to the education of the newly-emancipated blacks, and to the superintendence and organization of their labour. In the presence of intelligent supervision, almost every bugbear that had been conjured up by the old spirit and prejudices of Slavery disappeared. The blacks were found docile, industrious, frugal, orderly, with all the substratum of character which goes to the making of good citizens. And this not merely in the Sea Islands and on the lovely plantations along the Mississippi, but in Washington and Baltimore, where every temptation existed to law-breaking that could assail the same order of whites. Yet it appears from an interesting letter of Judge Bond in the *Freedmen's Bulletin*, that out of 840 paupers in the Baltimore Alms-house, there are but 63 black men and 104 black women. In the City Jail, for small misdemeanors, out of forty-two inmates, there were but one black man and one black woman. Of all the arrests during the week ending Jan. 21, out of eighty-eight committals, only nine were of coloured persons. Everywhere that a tolerably fair chance has been given them, the coloured people have not only shewn themselves capable of supporting themselves and laying something up for a rainy day, but they have set an excellent example to their white neighbours in the particulars of sobriety, good order, and freedom from serious crimes. And their eagerness for instruction, not only for their children but for themselves, is something truly remarkable. Of this class is to consist in a large proportion the labouring population of the South. It is for the interest of all of us, almost as much as for their own, that they should have whatever assistance our more fortunate circumstances can afford them in the way of teaching, advice, example, and assistance. For this end, the *Freedmen's-Aid Associations* have gathered themselves in all our principal cities, and ramified themselves all over the free States. We have drawn the attention of our readers before to this most important matter, and shall not cease to urge it upon them as occasion arises. And occasion is always present. We rejoice to see that a Bill establishing a Freedmen's Bureau at Washington has been reported, and is likely to become a law. It is eminently the duty of the nation to identify itself with this great political, politico-economical, moral and religious work. It is a work not safe, no more than honourable, to neglect. But the establishment and the best management of such a department will not supersede the necessity of the Voluntary Societies, of which it would be, in a sort, the representative organ. The eyes of all who feel the importance of this work being well done should be kept constantly open to see that offences do not come, or, if they do, that it shall not be well to him by whom they come."

(From *Friends' Review*.)

"Looking backward three or four years at the then strongly pro-slavery condition of Maryland, it is difficult to realize the fact that the State is now free; that on the first day of last Eleventh month, 87,000 slaves received their freedom. When Slavery was abolished in the British West

Indies, the friends of emancipation found that a great labour had fallen upon them in the necessity of protecting the rights and interests, and promoting the education, of the enfranchised people. To these great objects, the efforts of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society* have been steadily directed. So, in Maryland, the great and sudden change in the condition of the coloured population, at once made manifest the need of immediate measures on the part of faithful Christian citizens, to meet the new wants of those who, long oppressed and deeply injured, were now placed in a position capable of receiving instruction and aid.

"This demand has been promptly met by the organization of the *Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Coloured People*." We are glad to learn that Friends of Baltimore have entered heartily into the work, and that eight of them are enrolled amongst the officers of the Association. An Address to the Public, recently issued by the Board of Managers, is an important document of the times, and as such, we place it on our record. Of the coloured people of Maryland it gives this gratifying testimony: 'Their present condition, when we consider what has been denied them, and how little means or opportunity they have had for self-improvement, [having been taxed for public schools but allowed none], is a standing rebuke to those who think they are incapable of moral or mental culture.'

"As nearly seven-tenths of the manumitted coloured people are under 21 years of age, it is obvious that one of the first and most important steps for their improvement is education; and from the information we have received, it is probable that two schools have already been opened by this Association. The *Baltimore American* states that a free school for coloured females was recently opened in Saratoga street, under the auspices of the *American Missionary Association*. The same paper says, on the authority of the *Eastern Gazette*, that large numbers of people from the Northern States and Western Maryland are purchasing land in the Eastern-Shore counties, with a view to settlement in that section of the State."

(*Letter from Savannah, written by Mr. Lynch, a coloured preacher, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, formerly a slave, now commissioned by the National Freedman's Relief Association as a Missionary among the freed people of the department of the South:*)

"Mr. Francis George Shaw, President National Freedman's Relief Association,—MY DEAR SIR,—I have been here for some days. I hurried here expecting much to do. I have not been disappointed. The coloured people of this city did not seem to realize that they were free, as their status was not announced by any proclamation on the entrance of the Union troops. A large number of the former inhabitants remained on account of our abundant provender and greenbacks, and I am sorry to say that their spirit, unpatriotic and disunion, remained also. The scarcity of provisions on the evacuation of the rebels, the unsettled state of things, no employment—all these had the effect of causing our

people to stand on the threshold of freedom, like the rescued passengers of a ship lost on the strand standing on a barren sea-shore, wet and shivering with the cold blast of the tempest. They needed encouragement, advice, and strength to go forward holding up their heads, and full of hope and energy assume the responsibilities of freedom. I am happy to say that they have been growing every day, and seem to lose that dread which Slavery had made a second nature. The Post-Commander, Brigadier-General John W. Geary, is sincerely willing to encourage any thing that will elevate the freedmen, though no plans nor very active exertion in their behalf are to be expected from him, as his military duties are pressing, and his audience-room is continually besieged by the bayonet-made Unionists. There are a great many very intelligent coloured persons in Savannah. We have been holding large meetings of the coloured citizens this week. Rev. Mr. French, Rev. Mr. A. Wood, Secretary of the *American Tract Society*, and myself, have addressed them. The interest evoked has been great, and the promise of good being done is bright. We have secured from Government the use of three large buildings. First, A. Bryan's Negro Mart, thus reads the sign, with two stars each side of it, over the door—a large three-story brick building. In this place slaves had been bought and sold for many years. The windows of the upper story have iron-grates. We found many "gems," such as handcuffs, whips, staples for tying, &c.; bills of sale of slaves, and letters, all giving a faithful description of the hellish business. This we are going to use for school purposes. 2nd. The Still house of — on Farm-street, formerly used as a rebel hospital, we have also secured for school purposes. 3rd. A large three-story brick building on the adjoining lot, for a hospital for freedmen. We have organized an association called 'The Savannah Educational Association,' composed of the pastors and official members of the coloured churches. There are five very large coloured churches in this city: four of them will seat 1000 persons each, and three have fine organs. That the coloured people built such churches is astonishing. The first African Baptist Church, completed just before the war began, could not have cost less than 18,000 dols. Hundreds of the coloured people are joining the association as honorary members. This move on their part has greatly commended them to the military authorities, and in the same ratio embittered the Southern Unionists. We have all concluded to treat their hostile attitude with kind and friendly indifference. This is our policy. We, Messrs. Alvord, French, and Lynch, have examined some of the most intelligent of the coloured young men and women, to ascertain their qualifications for teaching, and selected nine, three or four of whom we shall set to work on Monday. There is one of them I would particularly make mention of, Mr. James Potter, who is well educated. He is known to General Geary, and favourably; was raised in Charleston; has never been North. This movement, however, by no means supercedes a movement by the associations of the North, but paves the way for the success of the latter. It draws out and makes use of the ability and intelligence possessed by the coloured

people themselves, and gives them confidence and encouragement. I never saw a people so willing to be led, so high-toned and elevated in aspiration as the coloured people of Savannah. I would here remark that refugees are continually coming in and filling up the city. I trust that your association will soon have teachers here. Oh! how much books are needed. We could use a thousand spelling-books, if we had them. The Reverend Mr. Alvord, Secretary *American Tract Society*, accomplished wonders during the three days he spent here, by encouraging the people. Mr. French spent a few days here, and has been a god-send to the people. I shall go back to Port-Royal on Monday, but will return here. Prompted to let you know something of this people, I tax you with this long letter, written in haste. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am, Sir, very respectfully yours (Signed), JAMES LYNCH. Savannah, Georgia, Jan. 4, 1855."

(Report from Newburn, North Carolina, dated January 10, 1865.)

"Mr. F.G. Shaw.—MY DEAR SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I send this hastily written report. As it is for the eye rather than the ear I shall write more freely and loosely than I should otherwise dare to do. By the late census the coloured people in the third district amount, in round numbers, say to 20,000. Of these, about 4000 are aided by Government. Upwards of 6000 support themselves by labour in various trades. More than 2000 are in government employ in the staff departments. About 9000 are women and children unemployed. 13,000 were probably slaves before the war. In my Northern home I confessed to some scepticism in regard to the capacity of the negro race for improvement, and their ability to take care of themselves. But a residence of nearly a year among them, with every facility for studying the facts in the case, has inspired me with unbounded confidence in their future. Under similar circumstances I question whether the average of our white population would have done so much in the way of self-support. Since the capture of Plymouth and the evacuation of Washington, there have been within our lines, in Newbern alone, from ten to twelve thousand. Of course they are at a great disadvantage. Never having had the healthful stimulus of wages, or been inured to habits of industry like freemen, and crowded within such narrow limits, it is very surprising that they should be as diligent and successful as they are. Already there are coloured men in Newbern, provident, calculating, shrewd, and as keen for trade as any Yankee. An order has just been issued, requesting labourers and business men to make a return of their earnings during the past year; and their incomes range from three to sixteen hundred dollars. One man made last year in the turpentine business 3000 dollars, another 2400 dollars. The most unpromising class we have probably are located on Roanoke Island, a colony, it should be understood, expressly for the infirm and disabled. I think not twenty men on the island would pass a surgeon's examination for soldiers, yet they are uniformly industrious, intelligent and happy. They will do the most with the least of any persons I have ever seen: give them a fair chance,

and beyond peradventure they will need help from no man. In saying this I do not wish to imply that there should be any relaxation in effort in sending supplies of clothing, &c., for with such a promiscuous multitude in close proximity, and coming within our lines with not even rags to cover them, nothing but timely charities from the North can relieve the destitution. Many supposed that, if the slaves were freed, they would feel their importance too much, become impudent and insolent. I have met thousands every day in the street, and have seen nothing to warrant this. As a rule they are civil, respectful, and almost servile in the presence of whites, and their cheerful salutations, as we pass each other in the street, might be imitated by some of their white brethren. It is rare to hear a profane word from the lips of a coloured man, except he has had much intercourse with the whites. I have not seen one intoxicated since I have been among them. I think it may safely be said that they are not naturally inclined to vicious courses, and their besetting sins are the legitimate fruits of a long course of oppression. With no motive for exalting the negro character above the truth, it is not too much to say that, when raised to the same pitch of culture, we may expect fewer vices than among the whites. Eighteen months ago the first free day-school was opened at Newbern by white teachers. Since then there has been no lack of competent and accomplished teachers, ready to take the risk of a malarious climate, to meet the annoyances and privations of a military post, and cast their lot with the poor. About 40 have been sent out and supported by Northern charity, and their labours we look upon "as a handful of corn upon the tops of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon." The largest attendance of pupils for any month has been near 2700, and each month has been marked by a steady increase of attendance on the part of the children. There is generally a very eager desire to improve. The teachers sent from the North are generally of the first order, and devoted to their work. Nothing has surprised me more than the children's aptness to learn. I have supposed, where a race has been deteriorating for ages, ages must be required for their elevation. Hence, I expected to find the coloured people generally incapacitated for improvement, and that it would be a tedious and unsatisfactory work to establish and maintain a system of education among them. But after a careful observation of more than a year, under the most favourable circumstances for collecting and weighing facts, I fully concur with the opinion of our best teachers deliberately expressed, that, notwithstanding the depressing influence of the past, coloured children, with equal facilities, will now learn as fast as the average of white children in our Northern district schools. Of course there are stupid and unpromising ones, as there are in all schools, but, on the whole, there is a fair capacity and an ardent desire to learn. The educational work is now reduced to something like a system. The scholars are regularly visited by the superintendent, and monthly reports are made, giving the statistics and general condition of schools, with accompanying remarks by the teachers.

These are sent each month to the Societies supporting the teachers where (you will allow me to say) they are read and examined with intense interest. We have also seven evening schools for adults, and those who are unable to attend the day-schools. These are fully and punctually attended, and constitute one of the most interesting features of our work. They are an invaluable privilege to those who attend them, as, with most, it is about their last chance. As already stated, we are instructing nearly 3000. There are probably 4000 to 5000 in this district all eager to learn, as soon as they can be taught. We hope, after recovering from the desolating sickness, to have increased facilities for erecting houses, and pressing forward the work with augmented vigour. We are now about opening a school of higher grade, with all the conveniences and improvements of a first-class building at the North. We shall give it in charge to the best teacher we can command, select from the different schools the most advanced and promising pupils, and thus shew, by a fair experiment, what the negro can do under favourable circumstances. I venture the prediction that this experiment will for ever silence those who affirm the natural inferiority of the negro, though the part he is to play in the future must needs be for some time a subordinate one. In closing, let me say, that, first of all, these men coming within our lines need to be fed, and for this Government has made noble and generous provision.—

2. They must be clothed. This Government does not do, but, I am happy to say, the charities of the North have flowed in with a most gratifying liberality, yet far short of the demand. There is extreme destitution. Whoever can spare a garment should send it South; send it to the superintendent of contrabands, or to some devoted teacher, and it will be heard from certainly in that day when the poor shall rise up and call their benefactors blessed.

3. They must be instructed. Government is friendly, and has done something in this direction, but for the present, in all probability, the work must be carried forward mainly by Northern charities. A noble beginning has been made, and nobly thus far has it been supported. I am amazed at the enthusiasm already awakened in this enterprise, an enthusiasm resulting not more from a large benevolence than from an instinctive sagacity, which detects whatever bears vitally on the nation's welfare. Here are the germs of salvation, not only for a race, but for a nation. Until government assumes the whole responsibility I hardly see how the general plan for instructing and caring for the freedmen can be improved. Of course very much depends on those who superintend. If they are wise, discreet, energetic, and aided by the strong arm of Northern sympathy and charity, a grand work will be accomplished in the elevation of those thrown providentially upon our hands. In this department it is only just to say the general superintendence is admirably managed. Respectfully submitted by yours truly, WM. T. BRIGGS.

["Mr. Briggs is Superintendent of Schools in North Carolina, under the several associations employing teachers there."]

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1865.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

WE subjoin the text of President Lincoln's Address, delivered on the occasion of his re-inauguration, as chief magistrate of the United States, on the 4th of last month. Seldom have we read a speech so much to the point. But not only on account of its simplicity, brevity, and appropriateness is it to be commended to notice, but because of its elevated religious tone. It is truly pathetic in its reverential reference to the Almighty hand, of the scourge of war which has overtaken the nation, as the penalty for the "offence" of Slavery. He includes North as well as South in the guilt which he believes is now being punished, yet "with malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right." What a lesson is this plain man of the West, the chief of a great people, setting to the rulers of the old world, by his devout utterances, and how grand is his reliance upon the power of right and truth. The wisdom of the Galilean carpenter's Son appears to have penetrated his mind, and brought forth abundant fruit. It is this deep religious faith which has sustained him through the fiery trial he has undergone, and must still undergo before the nation he governs is free; and the more events tend to develop his character, the higher does he rise, and the greater is our respect for it. He is the man whom Providence has raised up, to meet the crisis, and we trust his mission will be speedily accomplished, so that he may enjoy the satisfaction of ruling the people in peace.

THE INAUGURATION ADDRESS.

"Fellow Countrymen,—At this second appearing to take oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than at first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of the course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper; now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have constantly been called forth concerning every point and place of the great contest which still absorbs attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

"The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself. It is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory, and encouraging to all. With a high hope for the future, no prediction in that regard is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it. All sought to avoid it. While the inaugu-

ral address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, the insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects by negotiating. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war, rather than let it perish, and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were coloured slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but located in the Southern part. These slaves contributed a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew the interest would somehow cause war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected the magnitude or duration which it has already attained; neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astonishing. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God. Each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully, for the Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose American Slavery one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as was due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern that there is any departure from those Divine attributes which believers in the living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away; yet if it be God's will that it continue until the wealth piled by bondsmen by 250 years' unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3000 years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether, with malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right. As God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for whom shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

PRO-SLAVERY LEGISLATION IN JAMAICA.

THE pro-slavery spirit is tenacious of life. It takes a long time to kill it. Leave it a bare chance of revivication, and sooner or later it will leap up rampant, defiant, and aggressive. It is all very well for the planter-interest to assert that, were the re-establishment of Slavery to be proposed, it would be repudiated. Facts are proverbially of a stubborn nature, and one fact is worth any number of assertions. If we alleged that in Jamaica the pro-slavery spirit is not dead, but could not sustain our allegation by proof, it would scarcely pass current. In like manner, a profession by the planters, of a preference for freedom to Slavery, in the face of decidedly pro-slavery legislation, may be accepted as proof positive of the existence of pro-slavery sympathies. If these are extinct, what element is it that germinates and produces the class legislation, which is the curse of the island? Whence have sprung the enactments which tax, in undue and vexatious proportion, the working population; which practically nullify the right of vote by imposition of an annual fine; which originally gave the planter the power to import immigrant labour, to compete with native labour, at the public expense, and even now relieve him of a full third of the cost of its introduction, still to the detriment of the island revenue, to which the Jamaica peasantry are the largest contributors? and, finally, to what, but the pro-slavery spirit, is traceable the latest legislation of the island Solons, who, thirty-two years after the abolition of Slavery, have again introduced its hateful symbol, the whip, as a mode of punishment?

On the 14th of February, the House of Assembly, having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, passed two Bills from the Legislative Council, one to authorizing the infliction of corporal punishment in certain cases of larceny; the other to empower Justices of the Peace to apprentice persons under sixteen years of age, convicted of petty larceny. On the division of the House, the former was adopted by a majority of four against two, only six members out of the whole being present. The non-contents were Messrs. Bourke and Osborn, names worthy to be recorded. The first-named gentleman is reported to have made the following remarks:

"He had strong objections to flogging. Sometimes a nation was seized with a mania, and in this instance the whole island had been running wild with speculation as to the mode in which certain crimes were to be redressed, and the only panacea which some political empirics had discovered was flogging. He thought that the Bill

was dealing with only one of the symptoms of the disease; but the truth was, the disease laid deeper. The evil sought to be corrected by the Bill took its rise from the state of the country, brought about by the little regard the Government paid to society in the repression of the evil and pernicious examples, which those in the more elevated walks of life set. That was the cause of the growth of crime in the country, and until that cause had been swept away, pollution would still continue to invade the land. When the humbler class of persons saw the evil examples set by those filling higher positions in life, their ideas became confounded. The state of the colony was most impoverished. The description of food imported into the island, more particularly in the country parishes, tended to produce disease. The clothing was of an inferior description; and the price demanded was beyond the reach of the labouring man. The consequence then arose, that the labourer was unable to find legitimate means to supply himself. Yet with all that evidence the Government had steadily proceeded with their lavish expenditure. The first feeling of human nature was to preserve life; and, viewing the condition of the country, with all its disadvantages to the humble class, could it be wondered at that the inducement was great for them to commit petty larcenies? For this they were to be flogged. It seemed monstrous that such a degrading punishment should be inflicted for petty larcenies, while the same punishment did not attach to the higher class of crimes. Formerly offences that human nature would revolt against were followed with such punishment, yet the Legislature applied the lash to minor crimes, 'the people being driven to the commission of them by hunger and want.'

We will offer no lengthened comments upon the general accusation, urged by the speaker against "the more elevated" classes in the island, though it is not the first time they have been pointed out as setting a most "pernicious example" to those in a more humble station. In all communities there will exist a number of good and bad; but though the better educated ought to lead the way in morality and integrity, it is no excuse for nor palliation of the error of their inferiors in following a contrary course. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that such examples are most likely to produce their worst effects in a country where Slavery has left its pollutions amongst the people, and where the masses have been for a long term exposed to their taint.

It would seem that by a series of enactments, spreading over some years, minor trespasses have been gradually converted, on repetition, into larcenies, and larcenies have been defined to include such acts as cane-cutting and cane-stealing. Now the stealing of the sugar-cane, when gathered in the mill-yard for grinding, is alone legally cane-larceny; whereas the severing of the sugar-cane when growing, and the

taking of it away, was not considered a misdemeanour in the time of Slavery, the people having been accustomed to a moderate indulgence in the latter practice, as a privilege of their condition, which was even extended to include canes cut and in the mill-yard.

It is, however, alleged that cane-stealing is not confined to the taking of a few plants by promiscuous wayfarers, but has been reduced to a system, and that the depredations are on a vast scale, and committed to the detriment of all classes of planters, native as well as foreign. If this be the case, unquestionably the evil should be met, and we must not be understood as pleading for the extension of undue leniency to this, or to any other class of offenders; but surely some other mode of dealing with it might be devised, which should not be obnoxious to the charge of inhumanity, and which should also be more in accordance with the principles of British justice and the practice of British jurisprudence. The evil complained of, and which it is sought to suppress by an ignominious and a demoralizing punishment, is, notwithstanding, one which would most naturally arise out of the custom so long prevalent, of permitting the cutting of cane as the privilege of a condition and of a class. All usages tend to degenerate into abuses, and it was no such extreme condescension on the part of the planters, in the time of Slavery, to permit those to cut canes which did not belong to them, whom they had first outraged by robbing them of their right to belong to themselves. In the present case, the evil has been a growing one, for it appears attempts have been made to check it by imprisonment and hard labour; but without effect. Now punishments should bear some relation to the crime, Burglary—to wit—involves, in England, transportation or penal servitude, for a time which corresponds to the gravity of the circumstances attendant upon the commission of the offence, and a second committal involves a severer penalty than a first one. Sugar being the staple production of Jamaica, cane-stealing in any form ought to be put down, and cane-stealers punished vigorously; but the object of punishment is defeated, and degenerates into legal vindictiveness and persecution when it is made excessive, and especially when it is of a brutalizing character.

The "Flogging Bill" is objectionable for special reasons. Flogging as a punishment for a petty offence is in itself to be strenuously deprecated; but where, as in the case of Jamaica, the whip is the symbol of Slavery, its employment there is to be unhesitatingly condemned under any circumstances, as tending to revive the recollection

tion of past injuries, and to remind the people of a condition from which the philanthropy of the British nation happily rescued them.

Again: the court-order for flogging a delinquent involves the infliction of the punishment in a public place, in the presence of two plantation constables, who are to receive two shillings and sixpence for the day they attend at court, at the conviction of an offender; and it may reasonably be urged that this reward gives them a direct interest, not in the prevention or repression of crime, but in the perpetuation of offences of this particular class, which they would be tempted to multiply and to magnify.

Further: the Act sets forth that the number of lashes shall not exceed fifty: under the laws, even during Slavery, the number was limited to thirty-nine. There is obvious barbarity and degradation in this aggravation of punishment, which, moreover, establishes a contrast more favourable to a condition of Slavery than of freedom.

Another consideration must not be left out of view. The people of the island have had to pass through a season of great trial, and we are tempted to inquire, whether want may not, in numerous instances, have led to the commission of the offence complained of, and whether the evil has not been exaggerated? We learn that the district prisons are filled with "boys and girls," who have been apprehended for cane-pilfering. Are these young people—who would probably be the first victims of the new laws—to be regarded as guilty as those individuals, who are said to own small plots of their own, who have a patch of canes as a "blind," and who are strongly suspected of making sugar from their neighbours' canes?

Not satisfied, however, with a Flogging Bill, the planting-interest has obtained an Apprenticeship Bill; so that an individual under sixteen years of age, who is convicted of petty larceny—which includes cane-cutting—may be apprenticed for a term. What is this but a revival of the system of involuntary servitude or Slavery, limited only as to time? Coupling this Bill with the loud complaints of the planters, that they cannot procure continuous labour, and bearing in mind that this practice of cane-cutting is alleged to be general, it is obvious, that under its authority a very large proportion of the population might be reduced to bondage, and a state of things arise which would utterly nullify the Abolition Act: in fact, Slavery would be virtually re-established.

We do not hesitate to condemn both these Bills, not only as repugnant to humanity,

and to all principles of British legislation, but as calculated to inflame the passions of the people—so easily excited, and so susceptible of being wrought upon by designing or misguided persons—and to lead to the most disastrous consequences. Outbreaks have unhappily occurred in Jamaica, only within the last few years, for causes really in themselves trivial; and there is therefore the greater danger of a more determined resistance to the enforcement of laws, calculated as these are, so painfully to remind the peasantry of their former degraded condition, with all its brutalizing accompaniments.

Fortunately the enfranchised classes in our colonies have friends in England to watch over and protect their interests. Let the aggrieved take patience, abstain from violence, and rely upon the efforts that will at once be made, to induce Her Majesty's Government to disallow the enactments in question.

THE ABERDEEN ACT.

LORD PALMERSTON has announced, from his place in the House of Commons, in answer to a question from Mr. White, that Her Majesty's Government has no intention of repealing the Aberdeen Act, with a view of facilitating the resumption of friendly relations with Brazil. We regret that Mr. White put this question as he did, because we consider that the demand for the abrogation of the Act of 1845 rests upon grounds of its own, and ought to be independent of every other consideration. We have again and again explained, that the measure was introduced, because the Government of Brazil notified to that of Great Britain the termination of the Convention of 1826, entered into between them for the suppression of the slave-trade, and declined to contract a new and a similar engagement. Our Foreign Minister—the Earl of Aberdeen—thereupon brought in the Act in question, which empowered the British Vice-Admiralty Courts to adjudicate in all cases of seizure made by British cruisers, of vessels sailing under the Brazilian flag, and suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade. Under the operation of the Convention of 1826, such cases were brought before a Mixed-Commission Court, where sat a Brazilian and a British Commissioner, and its decision—as in the case of the Vice-Admiralty Courts—was final. Antecedent, however, to the Convention of 1826, and under a general roving commission in quest of slavers, who were regarded as pirates, our cruisers assumed the power to seize all vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, and sail-

ing either under no flag at all, or under the colours of any nation with which we had no slave-trade treaty. This assumed right was strictly belligerent, and was so considered by the United States and by France. Indeed, its exercise actually produced a collision with the former Power, and almost plunged us into a war with France. Future calamities of the kind were obviated by the Washington treaty of 1842, and by a Convention with France, which expired in 1862, and has not been renewed.

It may here be stated, that the aggressions upon the flags of these two nations passed unheeded when the vessels seized were really engaged in slave-trading enterprises, and that the misunderstandings and worse, to which reference has been made, originated in the invasion and detention of ships employed in legitimate commerce; acts which were justly regarded as infringements of national independence, and of international law. In the case of France, war would certainly have ensued by a persistence in this course, but we were fortunate enough to have to deal with a monarch who desired to strengthen his alliance with Great Britain, and who sacrificed national pride and jealousy to a policy of conciliation. Very different was it when that Convention expired, and when the British Government solicited the French Emperor to conclude another, or to renew the old one. He peremptorily refused, and not only did so, but sanctioned the Regis contracts, under cover of which, Africans were deported wholesale from their native country, and conveyed to the French colonies. This was the so-called African free-immigration system; another kind of slave-trade, and another name for the same thing, but in no respect differing from the original traffic, and as replete with horrors. Now, because France would not conclude another slave-trade treaty, and because the then United-States' Government would not consent to grant us the right of search, did the British Government proceed—as it did in the case of Brazil in 1845—to pass a law similar to the Aberdeen Act? No! and why? Simply because either of these Powers would instantly have declared war against us. They were strong, but Brazil was weak; and hence what could not be even attempted in their case, without danger, was, in the latter, peremptorily carried into effect. Yet in all these instances the Powers were protected equally by the same fundamental principles of international law.

But our Government went even a step further. The Indemnity clause of the Aberdeen Act was so framed as to afford our cruisers every facility for committing

with impunity any act of aggression upon vessels sailing under Brazilian colours; hence the outcry when lawful traders were interfered with, and hence the justifiable complaints on account of these proceedings.

But when the Act was passed, it was notified to the Brazilian Government that its repeal should take place in the event of one of two specified contingencies, namely, when the African slave-trade to Brazil should have ceased, or when Brazil should conclude another slave-trade Convention with Great Britain. Now, for upwards of thirteen years no slaves have been landed from foreign parts, on Brazilian territory, and our representatives there have affirmed, not only that the traffic is extinct, but that its revival is impossible. The simple reason is, that in 1851 the Brazilian Government passed a law, making slave-trade piracy, and evinced a determination to put down this iniquitous traffic, from which determination it has not swerved. We affirm, that if the Brazilian Government had not been honestly disposed with regard to this question, it might easily have consented to a new slave-trade Convention, and continued the trade in spite of it, just as Spain does at this very time, in the teeth of our treaties with her for its suppression. The fact is, that neither treaties nor Conventions have had any very appreciable influence in checking the traffic in human beings, the extinction of which—so far as it can be extinguished whilst Slavery exists—depends solely upon the resolute determination of the local authorities to punish all who connive at its prosecution.

Lord Palmerston alleges, that were the Aberdeen Act repealed, the African slave-trade would be free to be revived with impunity; but the only reason he gives for this belief is, that the Captain-General of Cuba cannot prevent the continuance of the traffic to that island, although he is exerting himself to the utmost for that purpose. His lordship must be labouring under a singular hallucination if he really believes his own assertion, and he can hardly have read the bold avowals of ex-Captains-General themselves, recently made in the Spanish Senate, in presence of the Colonial Minister, that these officials are sent there to get rich. The innuendo is sufficiently eloquent, we think. But apart from this fact, his lordship is too well informed to be ignorant that the Captains-General of Cuba are, for their term of office, absolute monarchs, with a large army at their command, and are able to do any thing they like; so that if the slave-trade is not suppressed by any of them, it is because they have weighty and sufficient reasons for conniving at it. We are really grieved that Lord

Palmerston should have constituted himself the apologist of the Captains-General of Cuba.

We are anxious for the repeal of the Aberdeen Act, because we have good reason for believing that its existence tends directly to check anti-slavery feeling and effort in Brazil. We have no political or interested purpose to serve in pressing for its abrogation, but strong anti-slavery grounds for our course. We can fully appreciate the tendencies of the times, and we regard with all-absorbing interest the development of the abolition movement in the United States. We deem it of the utmost importance to the advancement of the anti-slavery cause, throughout the world, that Great Britain, which first set the bright example of emancipation, should encourage anti-slavery effort wherever she can do so; and considering that in constituting the slave-trade piracy, and in prosecuting offenders, Brazil has exhibited a decided anti-slavery policy, we are justified in demanding that full credit be given her for sincerity of purpose, and that all cause of discouragement to further effort in the same direction be removed. In seeking the repeal of the Act of 1845 upon anti-slavery grounds, we cannot fairly be accused of undue partiality. A reference to our records will shew, that until the Brazilian slave-trade ceased, we were constant and loud in complaints to our Government, on account of the infraction of existing treaties, although we condemned the Aberdeen Act, believing it wrong in principle, and not calculated to fulfil its purposes. As, however, that purpose has been fulfilled, there is no valid pretext for retaining a measure offensive as well as useless, nor for requiring Brazil to conclude a Convention for the suppression of an evil which does not exist. We condemned her and complained of her whilst she was a delinquent; but now she has vindicated her honour, and proved her sincerity, we demand that justice be done her, and we call upon our Government to fulfil the pledge given to Brazil in 1845.

In conclusion, we would briefly advert to the mischievous attempts which have been made to confound this question of the slave-trade and the course of Brazil with reference thereto, with the complicated question of the emancipados, and the treatment of the slave-population. The one is entirely distinct from the other. We are not the apologists of Brazilian slave-laws, nor do we regard with other feelings than those of disappointment the failure of justice in relation to the *emancipados*. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind, that this failure is due as much to the carelessness of those who entered into the

arrangements under which these unfortunates have a right to their liberty; proper provision for securing which, within the allotted time, was not made, nor for simplifying the mode of their liberation. It is satisfactory, however, to learn, that in September last a Decree was promulgated, declaring absolutely free all emancipados who had completed the term of their apprenticeship.

A WORD FOR THE FREEDMEN.

WE wish to say a word for the Freedmen. It is addressed to all who are participating, in any way, in the movement on foot in this country to obtain for them material aid. We believe that this is, at present, a most important anti-slavery work. It is a movement so purely charitable, that all parties and all sects may unite to render it thorough. The plea is on behalf of hundreds of thousands of the famishing, the naked, and the sick. Multitudes of women, children, of the aged of both sexes, of the infirm from ill-usage or from privation, are seeking through the most inclement weather ever experienced on the American continent, and are finding, not simply a home, but liberty. Never was misery on so appalling a scale; never greater the necessity for instant, incessant, active effort. "Save us, or we perish," is the lamentable cry rising from every part of slave-land where the unfortunate and innocent victims of an accursed system have taken refuge from the oppressors, and they still come, and come, and come.

The occasion is a great one for our country. The voice of the distressed has already penetrated throughout the land. Earnest men are here, from the midst of the suffering multitudes, urging their appeals for help, with unremitting energy. Generous is the response they have met with, and gratefully will the gifts in money and kind be acknowledged. But something is wanting. Combined effort is needed to convert a desultory movement into a national one. Is it not practicable to unite, under one general designation, the various independent movements for the aid of the freedmen, now being prosecuted, and thus promote a national subscription? Would it not be possible to enlist in favour of the orphans, the widows, and the destitute, just released from Slavery, the sympathies of the Queen, and to obtain her patronage? Might not the heir-apparent be solicited to stand second on the list, and thus set the example to our aristocracy, usually not niggardly in cases of pitiable distress? What a phalanx of benevolent individuals might be thus brought into operation for this truly charitable work,

and how much individual labour, and anxiety, and expense might thus be saved! As it is, each effort appears antagonistic because it is distinct, though in reality all parties are striving to accomplish the same excellent object. May we hope that the idea thus thrown out may lead to some practical end? Great is the distress to be relieved, and therefore great indeed the need of concerted action.

OUR ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

IN December last the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* adopted an Address to President Lincoln, of which the following is the text, but the insertion of which has been delayed.

THE ADDRESS.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.

SIR,

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* beg to congratulate you, upon your re-election to the high and responsible office of President of the United States. Were this result of the recent national vote, simply an ordinary political event, indicating mere party preponderance, the Committee would consider themselves precluded from thus referring to it; but inasmuch as, in relation to the abolition of Slavery, as enunciated at the Baltimore Convention, and accepted by yourself, it is the emphatic endorsement by the people at large, of a principle and of a policy, the triumph of which is also a triumph of justice and humanity, they consider they may with propriety address you on this auspicious occasion.

The Committee have never ceased to deplore the dreadful calamity of the civil war, so demoralizing in its influences, which has rendered so many American homes desolate, and plunged the nation into mourning; and would sincerely rejoice at the speedy termination of this fratricidal and most lamentable contest. They ardently desire that a way may soon be opened for the restoration of peace, upon the firm basis of freedom and complete equality to all—irrespective of colour or of race—over whom you have again, in the order of Providence, been called to rule.

The Committee have deeply sympathized with you, in the exceedingly difficult position in which you have been placed during the last four years, in dealing with the perplexing question of Slavery; for the maintenance, consolidation, and extension of which wicked and hateful institution, the South rebelled, and rushed headlong into civil war.

The Committee rejoice at the various measures which have been proposed, and at the several enactments which have been carried by the administration under your presidency, having for their object the extinction of Slavery throughout the whole of the States of the American Union; and sincerely trust that your re-election may encourage the Senate and the Congress to prosecute, to a happy consummation, the noble work so well commenced.

While, however, the Committee acknowledge, with extreme satisfaction, the progress which has already been made towards the emancipation of the slaves, they feel much anxiety respecting the future *status* of the freed men. With assured adequate majorities in the legislature, it is to be hoped that equal rights and privileges, such as are enjoyed by other citizens of the United States, may at once be accorded to the emancipated. An additional incentive to self-exertion would thus be given to the free coloured population; the fear of the substitution of future serfdom, for one of actual Slavery, could then no longer excite the distrust of the slaves; and the institution of Slavery itself would receive an additional, and probably its exterminating blow. It is obvious that any ambiguity respecting the future social and political position of the freed, as a class, must be calculated to discourage them from exertion, to impede their progress, prolong the degradation of their race, and thereby the duration of Slavery in other lands.

The Committee trust they are not mistaken in the conjecture, that the unanimous acceptance by so large a majority of the people, of the anti-slavery policy laid down at the Baltimore Convention, foreshadows the adoption of legislation in accordance with these views. They would respectfully submit, that to emancipate a class from physical Slavery, yet to deny it any of the rights and privileges enjoyed by other citizens, is to create a caste, to foster and stimulate prejudice against colour, is a practical assertion of the inferiority of the emancipated race, and is calculated greatly to strengthen the policy of those who are fighting for the maintenance of Slavery, while it may appear to leave the Federal Government open to the imputation of insincerity.

In offering you this address of congratulation, on the occasion of your re-election, the Committee believe they are also giving expression to the sentiments of the great majority of their fellow-countrymen. They devoutly hope that the national troubles may soon terminate, and that He, "through whom kings reign and princes decree justice," may sustain you in the discharge of your great and arduous duties,

and guide your counsels to found, in righteousness, an enduring peace.

(Signed)

S. GURNEY, Esq., *President.*

R. ALSOP, *Chairman of Committee*

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*

27 New Broad Street, E. C., London.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

IN our last Number we adverted, in our leading article upon the Constitutional Amendment, to the resolutions which Mr. Sumner had presented to the United-States' Senate, on the 4th ult., with a view to obviate the delay which might arise in obtaining the three-fourths States majority requisite to give the amendment the force of law. We now record those resolutions, in their original form. It will be seen that they aim at excluding the rebel States from all participation in the needful States' vote.

"In the United-States' Senate, Feb. 4, Mr. Sumner introduced the following declaratory resolutions:—

"Concurrent resolutions declaring the rule ascertaining the three-fourths of the several States required in the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

"Whereas Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both houses, has proposed an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting Slavery throughout the United States, which, according to the existing requirement of the Constitution will be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States; and whereas, in the present condition of the country, with certain States in arms against the national government, it becomes necessary to determine what number of States constitutes the three-fourths required by the Constitution: therefore,

"Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring), That the rule followed in ascertaining the *two-thirds of both houses* proposing the amendment to the Constitution should be followed in ascertaining the *three-fourths of the several States* ratifying the amendment; that, as in the first case, the two-thirds are founded on the simple fact of representation in the two houses, so in the second case, the three-fourths must be founded on the simple fact of representation in the government of the country, and the support thereof, and that any other rule establishes one basis for the proposition of the amendment, and another for its ratification, placing one on a simple fact and the other on a claim of right, while it also recognises the power of rebels in arms to interpose a veto upon the national government in one its highest functions.

"Resolved, That all acts, executive and legislative, in pursuance of the Constitution, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, are valid to all intents and purposes throughout the United States, although certain

rebel States fail to participate therein; and that the same rule is equally applicable to an amendment of the Constitution.

"Resolved, That the amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting Slavery throughout the United States, will be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution, whenever ratified by three-fourths of the States *de facto* exercising the powers and prerogatives of the United States under the Constitution thereof.

"Resolved, That any other rule, requiring the participation of the rebel States, while illogical and unreasonable, is dangerous in its consequences, inasmuch as all recent Presidential proclamations, including that of emancipation; also, all recent Acts of Congress, including those creating the national debt and establishing a national currency; and also all recent treaties, including the treaty with Great Britain for the extinction of the slave-trade, have been made, enacted, or ratified respectively without any participation of the rebel States.

"Resolved, That any other rule must tend to postpone the great day when the prohibition of Slavery will be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States; but the rule herewith declared will assure the immediate ratification of the prohibition and the consummation of the national desires.

HAYTI VINDICATED.

THE *Illustrated London News* of the 11th ultimo contains an excessively ill-natured article upon Hayti, its people and its resources. It would be charitable to assume that the Editor inserted it in ignorance of the inaccuracy of the allegations it contained, had the insertion not been refused, of a reply, vindicating the Western Negro Republic from the attack made upon it. We have been requested to insert the same, as originally addressed to the Editor of the journal in question; and have the greater satisfaction in doing so, believing that it would be much to the advantage of this interesting island, and would materially tend to promote correct views concerning it, were the public favoured more frequently with correct statistical information upon its actual resources and capabilities, and especially upon the social condition of the inhabitants. We would add, that our informant may be relied upon.

SIR,—I have read in your Number of the 11th inst. an article headed, "The island of Hayti, West Indies."

As I fear that you have been made the victim of a practical joker, as well with regard to the text of that article as to its accompanying illustrations, I trust you will deem it a friendly act on my part to point out to your readers the erroneous notions which are thus given them of the capacity of the African race for political and social independence, which, in God's intention, should exist for all human races alike.

1. If the port of Jacmel has no longer the flourishing aspect which it formerly had, it is

owing to numerous fires, which have destroyed its most wealthy quarters.

2. Haytian coffee is not of so poor a quality as your informant would have it. It is quoted generally immediately after those of Ceylon and of Java, and sells in the French market near 100f. (4l.) the fifty kilogrammes, as you may see it from the last number of the *Constitutionnel*.

3. There are "not" all sorts of restrictions placed upon foreign commerce at Hayti. The laws on customs and trading patents are at present more liberal than ever, and the natives are quite as much subjected to them as foreigners.

4. The Haytian Constitution certainly does not grant to foreigners the right to possess real property; but no more does the British Constitution. Our laws in that respect date from the time when, after a terrible struggle for personal as well as political freedom, the Haytians drove off their French conquerors. But at the last session of the Haytian Legislature, which was closed on the 19th of November last, the Executive, as well as the Chambers, came to an agreement to favour foreigners as much as possible with regard to the acquisition of real property, as is mentioned in the *Star* of January, the 17th, last. Let us hope that this measure will soon be adopted and that the British Parliament will then not disdain to follow the example of our small State.

5. The Government in Hayti is in the hands of the natives, whether of African or of Franco-African race. The President, General Geffrard, who is elected for life, belongs to the latter mixed race. Since our independence was proclaimed on January the 1st, 1804, we have been ruled, first, by General Dessalines, the founder of that independence, who, in imitation of his contemporary, Napoleon I., assumed the title of Emperor. He however, reigned for three years only. He was succeeded by General Pétion, who assumed the more reasonable title of President, and ruled us for eleven years, this founder of our Republic dying universally beloved and regretted. General Boyer, who succeeded him as President, gathered the whole island under his sway, and it remained for twenty-five years in power. From 1811 to 1820, General Christophe succeeded in detaching the north-west province of the island from the Republican rule, and proclaimed himself King of Hayti, although his power never extended beyond a single province. This is the only time that the title of King of Hayti was ever heard of. After the end of General Boyer's presidency, in 1843, four generals successively occupied the Presidential chair until 1847. Two of these died in office. General Soulouque was then elected President, and governed for nearly twelve years. His absurd revival, in 1849, of the title of Emperor (which was followed by the French President in 1852), has certainly contributed to throw as much ridicule on our small State as it has inflicted injury on the development of our resources. Thank God, this is a thing of the past; and, after the Almighty, we owe our deliverance to the present President, General Geffrard, who, however, consented to raise the standard of resistance to the constituted authority only when it became evident that Soulouque's barbarous and jealous

policy aimed at nothing less than the annihilation of all the natives of Europeo-African race. The general feeling of the Haytian population has constantly supported the authority of President Geffrard since his accession to power; and long may he remain to assist the religious, moral, intellectual, and material development of our small State, which, we feel confident, is destined to perform a great work in the intentions of Providence, as the only political community which can bring a Christian and civilized influence to bear on the interior of the great African continent.

6. The Island of Hayti lies between the 17 deg. and the 20 deg. of north latitude, but extends only through six degrees of longitude (from the 71 deg. to the 77 deg. west Paris), being about 440 miles long from east to west, and from 165 miles to 19 miles from north to south. Its circumference measures about 945 miles, without reckoning inlets. Its surface, apart from the adjacent smaller islands belonging to it, is estimated at 37,908 square miles. Its territory is wonderfully fertile, and earned for it the ancient title of "*The Queen of the West Indies*." Its population amounts to more than a million of inhabitants, only one-fourth of whom are to be found in the Spanish or eastern part, which forms the territory of the Republic of Santo Domingo.

7. With the exception of the summits of the highest mountains, and of the plains reserved to rearing cattle and the plantations of our fine mahogany trees, the whole of the island is cultivated, and not the fiftieth part only, as your informant will have it.

8. The Haytian army, whose bravery is as well known to its former British allies of 1803 as to its French antagonists of the same period, enjoys not certainly the degree of comfort and organization of the larger European armies; but its discipline is daily improving under both French and native instructors; and at no period whatever have the soldiery of Hayti presented the appearance which your informant describes and his sketch represents.

As for the general question of the material progress of our country, I may state that, thirty years ago, the tonnage of the ships trading with us did not exceed 60,000 tons a year: it now amounts to 150,000 tons. Imports which, at the former period, were estimated at from five to six millions of dollars, now are worth double that amount. Our chief articles of export have progressed in like proportion. Coffee has risen from forty to nearly sixty millions of pounds. Cotton, the cultivation of which is more and more extended, has risen from one to more than three millions of pounds; and Haytian cotton received the *first prize* at the London International Exhibition of 1862. Cocoa has also risen from one million to about a million and a half of pounds, while logwood has increased from 10 millions to 140 millions of pounds. The exports of 1863 are estimated at two millions sterling, and the imports at a like sum.

In considering the material developments effected by the native Government of Hayti, it should be kept in mind that it has been paying, in yearly instalments, to the French Government

the sum of 3,600,000*l.*, as a compensation for the properties confiscated from the French colonists by the Haytian authorities. This debt of honour will be entirely paid in a few years. It is after that time only that the full amount of the revenue of the country can be applied to its development.

In conclusion, Sir, I beg of you to allow me to supply you occasionally with sketches of Hayti, from our own native artists; while I must request you also to consider me as a regular subscriber to your interesting and important journal, which I shall take care to send constantly to my friends in Hayti, to prevent their ever falling into such errors, with regard to Great Britain, as your readers are exposed to at the hands of your West Indian informant.—I remain, Sir, ever your obedient servant and constant reader,

AN HAYTIAN.

London, March the 16th, 1865.

P.S.—My card is enclosed.

THE UNITED STATES' CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISES.

At the Jubilee gathering, on the occasion of the adoption of the House of Representatives, of the constitutional amendment abolishing Slavery, held in the Boston Music Hall, on the 4th February, ultimo, W. Lloyd Garrison made the following remarks upon the Compromise clauses in the United-States' Constitution. We reproduce them as useful for reference:

"Fellow-citizens,—We are here, moved as by one electric impulse, to commemorate a radical change in the Constitution of the United States; so radical, that whereas, for more than seventy years, it served as a mighty bulwark for the slave system, giving it national sanction and security, now it forbids human Slavery in every part of the Republic! Pardon me for reminding you of the old pro-slavery guaranties contained in that Constitution, all of which the present amendment obliterates at a blow. As the first competent witness, let 'the old man eloquent,' John Quincy Adams, be summoned as a witness. The following is his testimony:

"In the articles of confederation there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder; no double representation of him in the Federal councils; no power of taxation; no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of Government came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment till it should be saturated with the infection of Slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of Slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom."

Again:

"It cannot be denied, the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provi-

sions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave-trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representative for slaves—for articles of merchandise under the names of persons.

"The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia distinctly avowed, that without this guarantee of protection to their property in slaves, they would not yield their assent to the Constitution; and the free men of the North, reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principle of their liberty, or forfeiting the Union itself, averted their faces, and, with trembling hand, subscribed the bond."

Again:

"The bargain between freedom and Slavery contained in the Constitution of the United States is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, cruel and oppressive by riveting the chains of Slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to its owners, and persons not to be represented for themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been, that the slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening he has divided the spoil."

"The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is your own venerated father, who, in a speech delivered at the Whig State Convention in Boston, ten years ago, said:

"The slaveholders of the South have used the powers vested in them by the Constitution for their own interests, as every other selfish association of men would have done under the same circumstances, with the same powers, and under the temptations."

"And, referring to the threats continually made by the slave oligarchy of the South, that they would dissolve the Union if the anti-slavery agitation was not suppressed at the North, he added—

"Are the slaveholders fools or madmen? They go out of the Union for the purpose of maintaining the subjection of their slaves? Why, the arm of the Union is the very sinew of that subjection! It is the slaveholder's main strength. Its continuance is his forlorn hope."

"The present paralyzed and dying condition of chattel Slavery, as the result of secession, is demonstrative evidence that 'the arm of the Union was the very sinew of the slaves' subjection, and the slaveholders' main strength.'

"Only one other witness shall be summoned on this occasion. Listen to the confession of the lamented William Ellery Channing:—

"There is some excuse for communities when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and, by force, restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject our fathers, in framing the Constitution, swerved from the right. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully and dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . We cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the institution as long we give it any support. Most unhappily, there are provisions of the Constitution binding us to give it support. Let us resolve to free ourselves from these. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong-doing. To this conviction the free States are tending."

Again:

"The Constitution requires the free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this shew that we have no concern with the domestic institution of the South? that the guilt of them, if such there be, is wholly theirs, and in no degree ours? This clause makes us direct partakers of the guilt; and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the matter of Slavery. It will be said that the South will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. . . . If the necessity be real, then it follows that the free States are the guardians and essential supports of Slavery. We are the jailors and constables of the institution. But it is said the South is passionate, and threatens to secede if we agitate this subject Slavery. In such an event there would be no need of Anti-slavery Societies or of abolition agitations to convert the North. The blow that would sever the Union for this cause would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land. The moral sentiment against Slavery, now kept down by the interests and duties which grow out of the Union, would burst its fetters, and be re-enforced by the whole strength of the patriotic principle, as well as by all the prejudices and local passions which would follow disunion."

F. DOUGLASS ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

We have been requested to re-print the sub-joined Address, delivered by F. Douglass at the recent Convention of free coloured men. We endeavour, as a rule, to avoid introducing long documents; but, willing to oblige our esteemed correspondent, and feeling that there is much in the Address we commend as worthy of record,

we devote part of this month's space to give it extended publicity.

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—The members of the Coloured National Convention, assembled in Syracuse, State of New York, October the 4th, 1864, to confer with each other as to the complete emancipation, enfranchisement, and elevation of our race, in essaying to address you on these subjects, warmly embrace the occasion to congratulate you upon the success of your arms, and upon the prospect of the speedy suppression of the slaveholder's rebellion. Baptized in the best blood of your noblest sons, torn and rent by a strife full of horrors,—a strife undertaken and prosecuted for aims and objects the guiltiest that can enter the wicked hearts of men long in the practice of crime,—we ardently hope with you that our country will come out of this tremendous conflict, purer, stronger, nobler, and happier than ever before. Having shared with you, in some measure, the hardships, perils, and sacrifices of this war for the maintenance of the Union and Government, we rejoice with you also in every sign which gives promise of its approaching termination, and of the return of our common country again to those peaceful, progressive, and humanizing activities of true national life, from which she has been so wantonly diverted by the insurrection of slaveholders.

In view of the general cheerfulness of the national situation, growing brighter every day, the rapid dispersement of the heavy clouds of dismal terror, which only a few weeks ago mantled our land with the gloomiest forebodings of national disaster and ruin, we venture to hope that the present is a favourable moment to commend to your consideration the subject of our wrongs, and to obtain your earnest and hearty co-operation in all wise and just measures for their full redress.

When great and terrible calamities are abroad in the land, men are said to learn righteousness. It would be a mark of unspeakable national depravity, if neither the horrors of this war, nor the dawning prospect of peace, should soften the heart, and dispose the American people to renounce and forsake their evil policy towards the coloured race. Assuming the contrary, we deem this a happily chosen hour for calling your attention to our cause. We know that the human mind is so constituted, that all postponement of duty, all refusal to go forward when the right path is once made plain, is dangerous.

After such neglect of, and disobedience to the voice of reason and conscience, a nation becomes harder and less alive than before to high moral considerations. If won to the path of rectitude at all, thereafter, it must be by means of a purer light than that which first brought right convictions and inclinations to the national mind and heart. We speak, then, fellow-citizens, at an auspicious moment. Conviction has already seized the public mind. Little argument is needed. We shall appeal rather than argue; and we may well implore an attentive hearing for our appeal. The nation is still in tears. The warm blood of your brave and patriotic sons is still fresh upon the green fields of the Shenandoah. Mourning mingles everywhere with the national shout of victory; and though the

smoke and noise of battle are rolling away behind the southern horizon, our brave armies are still confronted in Georgia and Virginia by a stern foe, whose haughtiness and cruelty have sprung naturally from his long and undisputed mastery over men. The point attained in the progress of this war is one from which you can, if you will, view to advantage the calamities which inevitably follow upon long and persistent violation of manifest duty; and on the other hand, the signs of final triumph enable you to anticipate the happy results which must always flow from just and honourable conduct. The fear of continued war, and the hope of speedy peace, alike mark this as the time for America to choose her destiny. Another such opportunity as is now furnished in the state of the country, and in the state of the national heart, may not come again in a century. Come, then, and let us reason together.

We shall speak, it is true, for our race, a race long oppressed, enslaved, ignored, despised, slandered, and degraded; but we speak not the less for our country, whole welfare and permanent peace can only result from the adoption of wise and just measures towards our whole race, North and South.

Considering the number and the grievous character of the wrongs and disabilities endured by our race in this country, you will bear witness that we have borne with patience our lot, and have seldom troubled the national ear with the burden of complaint. It is true that individuals among us have constantly testified their abhorrence of this injustice; but as a people, we have seldom uttered, as we do this day, our protest and remonstrance against the manifold and needless injustice with which we are upon all sides afflicted. We have suffered in silence, trusting that, though long delayed, and perhaps through terrible commotions, the hour would come when justice, honour, and magnanimity would assert their power over the mind and heart of the American people, and restore us to the full exercise and enjoyment of the rights inseparable from human nature. Never having despaired of this consummation so devoutly wished, even in the darkest hours of our history, we are farther than ever from despairing now. Nowhere in the annals of mankind is there recorded an instance of an oppressed people rising more rapidly than ourselves in the favourable estimation of their oppressors. The change is great, and increasing, and is viewed with astonishment and dread by all those who had hoped to stand for ever with their heels upon our necks.

Nevertheless, while joyfully recognizing the vast advances made by our people in popular consideration, and the apparent tendency of events in our favour, we cannot conceal from ourselves, and would not conceal from you, the fact that there are many and powerful influences, constantly operating, intended and calculated to defeat our just hopes, prolong the existence of the source of all our ills,—the system of slavery,—strengthen the slave power, darken the conscience of the North, intensify popular prejudice against colour, multiply unequal and discriminating laws, augment the burdens long borne by our race, consign to oblivion the

deeds of heroism which have distinguished the coloured soldier, deny and despise his claims to the gratitude of his country, scout his pretensions to American citizenship, establish the selfish idea that this is exclusively the white man's country, pass unheeded all the lessons taught by these four years of fire and sword, undo all that has been done towards our freedom and elevation, take the musket from the shoulders of our brave black soldiers, deny them the constitutional right to keep and bear arms, exclude them from the ballot-box where they now possess that right, prohibit the extension of it to those who do not possess it, overawe free speech in and out of Congress, obstruct the right of peaceably assembling, re-enact the Fugitive-slave Bill, revive the internal slave-trade, break up all diplomatic relations with Hayti and Liberia, re-open our broad territories to the introduction of slavery, reverse the entire order and tendency of the events of the last three years, and postpone indefinitely that glorious deliverance from bondage, which for our sake, and for the sake of the future unity, permanent peace, and highest welfare of all concerned, we had fondly hoped and believed was even now at the door.

In surveying our possible future, so full of interest at this moment, since it may bring to us all the blessings of equal liberty, or all the woes of slavery and continued social degradation, you will not blame us if we manifest anxiety in regard to the position of our recognized friends, as well as that of our open and declared enemies; for our cause may suffer even more from the injudicious concessions and weakness of our friends, than from the machinations and power of our enemies. The weakness of our friends is strength to our foes. When the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, representing the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, denies that that Society asks for the enfranchisement of coloured men, and the *Liberator* apologizes for excluding the coloured men of Louisiana from the ballot-box, they injure us more vitally than all the ribald jests of the whole pro-slavery press.

Again: had, for instance, the present Administration, at the beginning of the war, boldly planted itself upon the doctrine of human equality as taught in the Declaration of Independence; proclaimed liberty to all the slaves in all the Slave States; armed every coloured man, previously a slave or a free man, who would or could fight under the loyal flag; recognised black men as soldiers of the Republic; avenged the first act of violence upon coloured prisoners, in contravention of the laws of war; sided with the radical emancipation party in Maryland and Missouri; stood by its anti-slavery generals, instead of casting them aside,—history would never have had to record the scandalous platform adopted at Chicago, nor the immeasurable horrors of Fort Pillow. The weakness and hesitation of our friends, where promptness and vigour were required, have invited the contempt and rigour of our enemies. Seeing that, while perilling every thing for the protection and security of our country, our country did not think itself bound to protect and secure us, the rebels felt a license to treat us as outlaws. Seeing that our Government did not treat us as men, they

did not feel bound to treat us as soldiers. It is, therefore, not the malignity of enemies alone we have to fear, but the deflection from the straight line of principle by those who are known throughout the world as our special friends. We may survive the arrows of the known negro-haters of our country: but woe to the coloured race when their champions fail to demand, from any reason, equal liberty in every respect!

We have spoken of the existence of powerful re-actionary forces arrayed against us, and of the objects to which they tend. What are these mighty forces? and through what agencies do they operate and reach us? They are many; but we shall detain by no tedious enumeration. The first and most powerful is Slavery; and the second, which may be said to be the shadow of Slavery, is prejudice against men on account of their colour. The one controls the South, and the other controls the North. Both are original sources of power, and generate peculiar sentiments, ideas, and laws concerning us. The agents of these two evil influences are various; but the chief are, first, the Democratic party; and, second, the Republican party. The Democratic party belongs to Slavery; and the Republican party is largely under the power of prejudice against colour. While gratefully recognizing a vast difference in our favour in the character and composition of the Republican party, and regarding the accession to power of the Democratic party as the heaviest calamity that could befall us in the present juncture of affairs, it cannot be disguised, that, while that party is our bitterest enemy, and is positively and actively re-actionary, the Republican party is negatively and passively so in its tendency. What we have to fear from these two parties,—looking to the future, and especially to the settlement of our present national troubles,—is, alas! only too obvious. The intentions, principles, and policy of both organizations, through their platforms, and the antecedents and the recorded utterances of the men who stand upon their respective platforms, teach us what to expect at their hands, and what-kind of a future they are carving out for us, and for the country which they propose to govern. Without using the word *Slavery*, or *slaves*, or *slaveholders*, the Democratic party has none the less declared, in its platform, its purpose to be the endless perpetuation of Slavery. Under the apparently harmless verbiage, "*private rights*," "*basis of the Federal Union*," and under the language employed in denouncing the Federal Administration for "*disregarding the Constitution in every part*," "*pretence of military necessity*," we see the purpose of the Democratic party to restore Slavery to all its ancient power, and to make this Government just what it was before the rebellion,—simply an instrument of the slave-power. "The basis of the Federal Union" only means the alleged compromises and stipulations, as interpreted by Judge Taney, by which black men are supposed to have no rights which white men are bound to respect; and by which the whole Northern people are bound to protect the cruel masters against the justly deserved violence of the slave, and to do the fiendish work of hell-hounds when slaves make their escape from thralldom. The candidates of that party take their stand upon its platform; and will, if

elected,—which heaven forbid!—carry it out to the letter. From this party we must look only for fierce, malignant, and unmitigated hostility. Our continued oppression and degradation is the law of its life, and its sure passport to power. In the ranks of the Democratic party all the worst elements of American society fraternize; and we need not expect a single voice from that quarter for justice, mercy, or even decency. To it we are nothing; the slaveholders every thing. We have but to consult its press to know that it would willingly enslave the free coloured people in the South; and also that it would gladly stir up against us mob-violence at the North,—re-enacting the sanguinary scenes of one year ago in New York and other large cities. We therefore pray, that whatever wrath, curse, or calamity, the future may have in store for us, the accession of the Democratic party to the reins of power may not be one of them; for this to us would comprise the sum of all socialwoes.

How stands the case with the great Republican party in question? We have already alluded to it as being largely under the influence of the prevailing contempt for the character and rights of the coloured race. This is seen by the slowness of our Government to employ the strong arm of the black man in the work of putting down the rebellion: and in its unwillingness, after thus employing him, to invest him with the same incitements to deeds of daring, as white soldiers; neither giving him the same pay, rations, and protection, nor any hope of rising in the service by meritorious conduct. It is also seen in the fact, that in neither of the plans emanating from this party for reconstructing the institutions of the Southern States, are coloured men, not even those who had fought for the country, recognized as having any political existence or rights whatever.

Even in the matter of the abolition of Slavery,—to which, by its platform, the Republican party is strongly committed, as well by President Lincoln's celebrated Proclamation of the first of January, 1863, and by his recent letter, "To whom it may concern,"—there is still room for painful doubt and apprehension. It is very evident, that the Republican party, though a party composed of the best men of the country, is not prepared to make the abolition of Slavery, in all the Rebel States, a consideration precedent to the re-establishment of the Union. However anti-slavery in sentiment the President may be, and however disposed he may be to continue the war till Slavery is abolished, it is plain that in this he would not be sustained by his party. A single reverse to our arms in such a war would raise the hands of the party in opposition to their chief. The hope of the speedy and complete abolition of Slavery hangs, therefore, not upon the disposition of the Republican party, not upon the disposition of President Lincoln, but upon the slender thread of Rebel power, pride, and persistence. In returning to the Union, Slavery has a fair chance to live; out of the Union, it has a still better chance to live; but, fighting against the Union, it has no chance for any thing but destruction. Thus the freedom of our race and the welfare of our country tremble together in the balance of events.

(To be continued.)

HELP THE FREEDMEN.

APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE WHO WERE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE Committee of the Freedmen's-Aid Society, London—Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., President, and Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., Treasurer; including in its number members of the Society of Friends, clergymen and members of the Established Church, ministers and members of Non-conformist Churches—appeals to all classes of society for prompt co-operation. It earnestly entreats the assistance of every one who seeks to give such aid, physical and educational, and to apply such moral and religious culture as shall, under the Divine blessing, enable the once down-trodden and degraded slave to act with self-reliance, and afford evidence of his capacity for freedom and equality with all other men in the eye of law.

The numbers already delivered from Slavery in the United States are reckoned about two millions. Hundreds of thousands of these are necessarily placed in circumstances of want and suffering, though entirely accessible to the benevolence of all willing to render assistance. Thousands have sunk into an untimely grave from the hardships incident to their escape from bondage, their desertion by masters for whom they had long toiled, and the calamities of a desperate war. Many linger under diseases and weakness, the result of tedious journeys and protracted want and exposure. Others are sinking into helpless sickness from want of clothing and habitations in the severity of winter. Generally, they evince a willingness and aptitude for work when supplied with tools for husbandry and other occupations, and furniture for their humble dwellings. They even need vessels in which to cook their food.

Multitudes are already, as freemen, rearing cotton and other products of the soil, so as to provide for their families and return a profit for the capital invested; and tens of thousands are eagerly receiving in-

struction in letters, in the Scriptures, and the principles of religion, under the self-denying labours of devoted benefactors, encouraged and facilitated by the general Government. A national response from England to American philanthropy, in such a crisis of history, would be an appropriate reciprocation of the seasonable benevolence exerted by citizens of the Union, when they promptly hastened to bring such bountiful help in the time of Irish famine and Lancashire distress. Surely Englishmen will not suffer themselves to be excelled in a generous charity by other nations.

Contributions in money and clothing, amounting to twenty-five thousand pounds, have been transmitted from Great Britain and Ireland to the several Freedmen's-Aid Societies in America since January 1863. More recently, since July 1864, renewed efforts have been increasingly successful. Among the later contributors may be enumerated—Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.; the Dowager Ladies Buxton, Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P.; Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.; J. Gurney Barclay, Esq.; George W. Alexander, Esq.; Mrs. D. Alexander, Ipswich; H. Christy, Esq.; J. Backhouse, Esq.; John Pease, Esq.; Henry Pease, Esq.; W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P.; Sir S. Morton Peto, Bart., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. Leveson Gower, M.P.; the Hon. Charles Howard, M.P.; Mrs. Lucy Fowler; R. Alsop, Esq.; John Richardson, Esq.; Thomas Sturge, Esq.; George Sturge, Esq.; Jonathan Pim, Esq.; Samuel Bewley, Esq.; J. J. Lister, Esq.; Miss Mouncey; several small companies of working men, and donors of half-a-crown and a shilling. A distinct list will be hereafter reported.

Further contributions are most earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully received for the Treasurer, by William Allen, Esq., Winchmore Hill, N., London; James William Massie, D.D., LL.D., Acting Secretary, 30 Lonsdale Square, N.; or by the Bankers, Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, and Co., Lombard Street.

Friends' Institute, Committee Rooms, 12 Bishopsgate Street, March 15th, 1865.